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276 All the Tanala employ tobacco in the form of snuff. To make th a leaf is toasted over the fire until it begins to change color, th crushed to powder in a small mortar and mixed with a fixed propo tion of sifted wood ashes. The ashes are prepared from sever different plants and they, rather than the tobacco, seem to be co sidered the important ingredient. As a rule, each person makes h own snuff, mixing the ashes to suit his taste. It is made up a litt at a time, as it is thought to lose flavor if kept. Snuff is carri in small boxes made from bamboo, horn, bone, or small gour (Fig. 9, f, g, h, j, k, l). In taking it, a little is poured out on the pal and tossed into the open mouth with a quick movement. It is nev snuffed.

It is doubtful whether the narcotic properties of hemp were know to the Tanala in pre-European times. A few of the younger me now smoke it in water pipes like those used for tobacco, but th practice is rare.

## MANUFACTURES

### DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The work of the family is rather evenly divided between husban and wife. The man takes complete charge of the cattle, hunts, cu and burns the jungle for the *tany*, does most of the fishing and build the house and keeps it in repair. He is not expected to do any o the house work, but will often relieve his wife by helping with th cooking and tending the baby. The woman tends the house an children, cooks, draws water and pounds rice, the last two bein heavy tasks. Both sexes work in the *tany*, but women do most of th cultivation in the small gardens and in the fields of wet rice.

All manufactures are rigidly assigned to one or the other se Men do all the work in metal, wood, bone, horn and hide. They als weave certain types of mats and baskets and make bark cloth. Wome make the balance of the mats and baskets, do all weaving of cloth and make the family garments and keep them in repair. The onl exceptions to this rule are the *zaroobany* ("berdaches"), who adop the women's industries as part of their role.

### ARTISANS

[463] The only professional artisans are smiths and a very few stone
326 cutters, who prepare the memorial stones. Smiths may be drawn
[426] from any gens and do not form a separate caste. The occupation tends to be hereditary, but anyone may enter it. There is no formal

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apprenticeship. A boy who becomes interested in the trade will hang about the smith's workshop, blowing the bellows for him and doing other minor tasks. Finally he will be allowed to help with the forging and may accompany the smith on his travels. When he thinks that he knows the trade, he will set up in business for himself. No regular payment is made to the teacher, but if the new smith prospers, it is customary for him to visit his former master, thank him publicly, and present him with an ox. 326

Every smith has a house and land in some particular village and spends most of his time there. During the slack season between harvest and the next planting, the smiths travel about repairing old implements and forging new ones. When a man is in need of the smith's services, he first bargains with him, then, when the price has been fixed, takes him into his house and feeds him until the task is completed. Smiths seem to be much more numerous among the Ikongo than among the Menabe.

The stonecutters are mostly Betsileo living among the Tanala. They go where their services are required and are similarly boarded during the work. 324

As far as I could learn, there are no ceremonial observances or taboos connected with any industry. There seem to be no charms to give success in occupations, with the possible exception of house building, although I was unable to get a satisfactory check on this for metal working. 777

## METAL WORKING

According to Tanala traditions, the aborigines of their territory were ignorant of the use of metal, but the ancestors of all the invading gentes were familiar with iron at the time they entered the region. The next metal to become known to them was silver. There are no known deposits of silver ore in Madagascar and the metal was certainly obtained from Arabs or Europeans. Nevertheless, the Tanala have no legends of its introduction. It has been thoroughly incorporated into the culture, figuring in the invocations to the gods and in a number of rites and ceremonies. In general, it seems to occupy the place that gold occupies among the tribes of the plateau and west coast. 325 135 [439]

Gold, in the form of dust or small nuggets, is found throughout much of the Tanala territory, but the Tanala themselves make no use of it and seem to have no beliefs in regard to it. It does not figure in any ceremony, and is mentioned in only one or two invocations.

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325 135 It seems probable that the Tanala were ignorant of its value, if not of its existence, until they were instructed by foreign traders. A few abandoned gold workings have been found by prospectors, and one or two caches of gold dust, but there is no way of determining their age.

325 439 Copper is still almost unknown, the only objects in use being a few bracelets obtained from the Betsileo. Brass, in the form of ornamental knife hilts and bracelets, is used by the Ikongo. They do not manufacture these articles, but buy them from the Bara, who are clever brass casters. The metal itself is of European origin and most of the knife hilts are made from old cartridge shells melted down.

135 326 438 The most important iron deposits are in the territory of the Tanala Ikongo. There are also deposits in the territory of the Zafimaniry, among the Menabe. There are a great number of smiths in this gens and they formerly carried on a regular trade in metal and finished implements with their neighbors. No account of Ikongo iron working was obtained, but their methods probably are the same as those of the Zafimaniry.

325 The ore used by the Zafimaniry is hematite, with a rich iron content. It occurs in the soil in the form of small pebbles and is simply washed preparatory to smelting. If the pieces are more than ¾ inch in diameter, they are broken up with hammers. The furnace is of the simplest sort (Fig. 10, c). A hole 2 to 2½ feet across and 18 inches to 2 feet deep is dug in the hard clay soil, with a sloping groove or trench entering it from one side, to accommodate a pipe leading to a bellows. The air pipe enters the pit 3 to 4 inches above the bottom. Sometimes a rim of clay 3 to 4 inches high is built around the furnace.

The smelting is done with charcoal, made by the ordinary European method. A layer of ignited charcoal is put in the bottom of the pit, then a layer of ore, then more charcoal and more ore until the furnace is filled. Two men work the bellows in shifts, keeping up a steady draft, and more charcoal is added as the mass burns down. The smelting requires about five hours. The molten iron collects in the bottom of the pit forming an ingot called *voromby*. This is drawn out and hammered as soon as it solidifies. Because of the small size of the furnace only a little iron can be smelted at a time. The metal is soft and malleable and the native smiths say that it is much easier to work than European iron.

The bellows employed in smelting and forging is typically Malayan (Fig. 10, a). It consists of two wooden cylinders from

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the metal is hot. Some knife and meat hook handles terminate in spiral antennae (Figs. 1, f; 5, g). Iron is never inlaid with other metals. 325 [531]

There are very few Tanala silversmiths, most of their ornaments being bought from the Betsileo. The ornaments are usually made from French five franc pieces and, at the time of my visit, the government had prohibited silver working as part of a campaign to introduce paper money. Because of this, the silversmiths carried on their work surreptitiously and I could learn nothing of their methods. 326 177

## WOOD WORKING

With the exception of the Zafimaniry gens, the Tanala are rather inferior wood workers. Their tools consist of the axe, chisel, knife, plane, drill, and two types of gouge. Adzes are unknown and saws were unknown until introduced by Europeans. They are still rarely used. 322 412

The axe (*antsi*) is used both as a tool and as a weapon. All native men carry one when traveling. The blade is shaped like that of an American cleaver, flat, with a square end and a straight or slightly curved cutting edge 4 to 6 inches long (Fig. 10, d). It has a straight, horizontal tang about 3 inches long which is inserted in a straight wooden handle 18 inches to 2 feet long and about 1 inch in diameter. In mounting the blade the tang is heated red hot and used to burn a hole of the proper size in the end of the handle. When this is deep enough the tang is fixed in it with a strong vegetable cement, made from a berry. The handle is then reinforced about the tang with a metal ferrule or a band of rawhide taken from a cow's tail and slipped on wet.

Chisels are of solid iron and are shaped much like our own cold chisels. They are used for fine work in hollowing wooden utensils and in dressing joints in timbers (Fig. 10, f).

Planes are shaped much like the small planes used by our own carpenters (Fig. 11, f). The plane-iron tapers to a point, which is usually recurved. It is held in place by a wooden wedge. The Zafimaniry often use plane-irons with a fluted edge (Fig. 11, e), producing a corrugated surface. Planes are used for dressing house timbers and the outside of large wooden utensils, especially boxes.

Drills are identical with those already described under Fire Making except that they are fitted with chisel-shaped iron bits. They are rarely used in wood working, small perforations usually being made with a hot iron.